34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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[Frontispiece]

"The present essay written some years ago when Formosa was still a Japanese colony, appeared in the review 'Marco Polo'. As a result of the war and the loss or dispersal of much valuable source material, I have unfortunately been unable to pursue, as I should have wished my researches in this interesting field. I have however, re-arranged the content and made other necessary changes in the text, adding a number of new photographs.

This brief preliminary account of some of the Formosan creation-myths is mainly concerned with those found in the Yami tribe on the island of Botal-Tobago (Kô-tô-sho). It makes no claim to be a contribution to cultural anthropology; I hope, however, that it may serve to draw the attention of foreign specialists to this too-long neglected field, before it is too late. This is my only justification for republishing this essay.

I wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the memory of my friend, the late Dr. N. Utsurikawa, founder of the Ethnological Institute of the ex-Taihoku Imperial University. In the space of a few years, he built up a unique if small museum mainly devoted to the [6] savage tribes of Formosa, and trained a team of able researchers. It is thanks to their labours that the customs, traditions, arts and music of the Formosan natives were preserved and systematically studied. Without his encouragement and help and that of Dr. Erin Asai, himself a brilliant ethnologist and linguistician to whom I am also indebted for many of the photographs which illustrate it, this essay would never have

been written. Sincere thanks are also due to Mr. K. Matsuyama who has kindly placed his fine collection of photographs of the savage districts of Formosa, at my disposal."

34: Del Re--7-8 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

"It is now generally accepted by ethnologists that the savage tribes of Formosa (Taiwan) belong, racially, to the Indonesian race while linguistically they are a group of the Austronesian family. Among the Japanese they are known by the generic name of Banzoku or Takasago-zoku. Literally, the first means alien (ban) tribes (zoku), the second, tribes of Takasago (the ancient name given to Taiwan). These have further been divided (by the Japanese) into two categories; Seiban ('raw' savages) and Jikuban ('ripe' savages). The former live for the most part among the mountains of the interior or along the East coast of the island, generally in reservations, and have largely preserved their ancient languages and customs; the latter are sinicized and frequently indistinguishable except to the expert, from the Hakkas, Cantonese and Amoy Chinese who at various periods emigrated to Formosa. The noticeable linguistic, cultural and ethnic differences between many of the tribes have led to the surmise that, in general, the inland island tribes had their original homes somewhere on the South-Eastern Asiatic continent, while the [8] Yami of Botel-Tobago and, possibly some of those inhabiting the Eastern coast, came from Austronesia. Whatever the true facts may be, it is certain that they represent various strata of Indonesian peoples having different levels of culture, who in remote times settled in Taiwan, which lies at the Northern end of the Indonesian territory."

34: Del Re--8 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 103

"The Aboriginal Department of the Japanese Government General of Taiwan divided the Seiban into seven groups viz: (i) Tayal, (ii) Saisyat or Saiset (North), (iii) Bunum, (iv) Tsou (Centre), (v) Paiwan (South-East), (vi) Ami (East), (vii) Yami (Botal-Tobago island, Jap. Kô-tô-sho). To these should be added the following sub-groups: (Ia) Sedeq, (IV a) Kanakanavu, (IV b) Saaroa, (V a) Rukai, (V b) Puyuma. (1)"

1. See map.

34: Del Re--8 [2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 197 Yami

"The creation-myths which will be dealt with are, in the main, peculiar to the Yami and differ considerably from those of the inland tribes, while having a certain affinity with those of the Puyuma. The latter, as well as those of the Ami, seem to be related to myths found among other Indonesian peoples. In the case of the Yami, it has been ascertained that their language is allied to that of the inhabitants of the islands of Batan or Basay (Vasay), Itbayat and Satung situated in the Phillippine group. (2)"

2. see Dr. E. Asai, A Study of the Yami Language, spoken on Botel-Tobago Island (subsequently cited as AYL) Leiden, Universiteitsboekhandel J. Ginsberg, pp. 4, 9ff. That some direct and, possibly, frequent intercourse existed between the Yami and the Batanese and Ibatanese is further substantiated by the internal evidence of text 5 (p. 73) and text 1 (p. 55 ff.) appended to AYL. See also the important article on this subject contributed by the late Dr. N. Utsurikawa (Director of the Ethnological Institute, Taihoku, Imperial University) to Ethnological Journal of South Eastern Asia and Oceania, Taihoku. Vol. I, n. 1 (1931).

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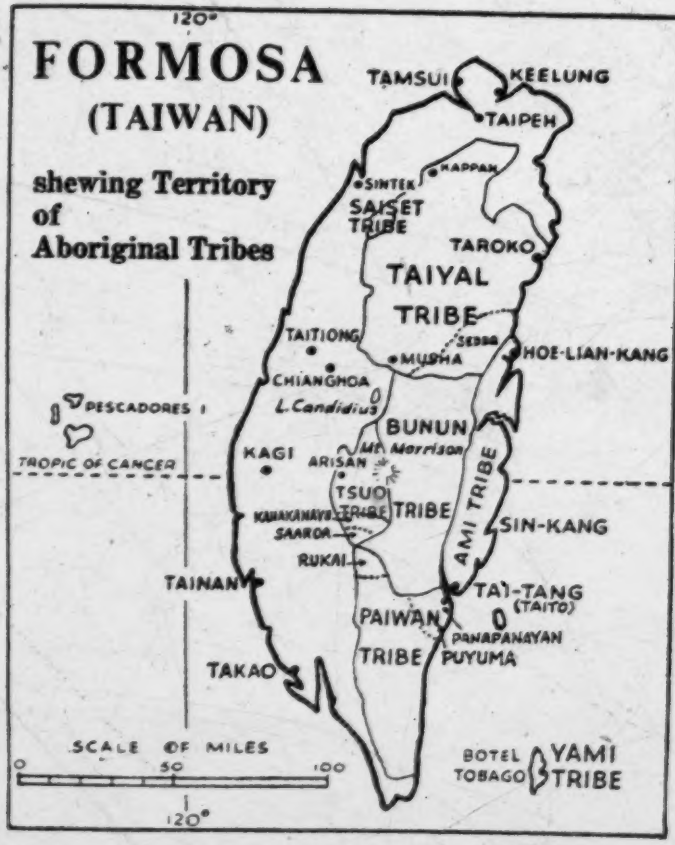

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MOUNTAIN TRIBES AND SUB-GROUPS

TRIBE	SUB-GROUP	POPULATION IN 1935
TAIYAL	Sedeq	34,957
SAISET	—	1,461
BUNUN	—	18,048
TSUO	Kanakanavu Saaroa	2,191
PAIWAN	Rukai Puyuma	42,614
AMI	—	47,064
YAMI	—	1,682
	Total	148,017

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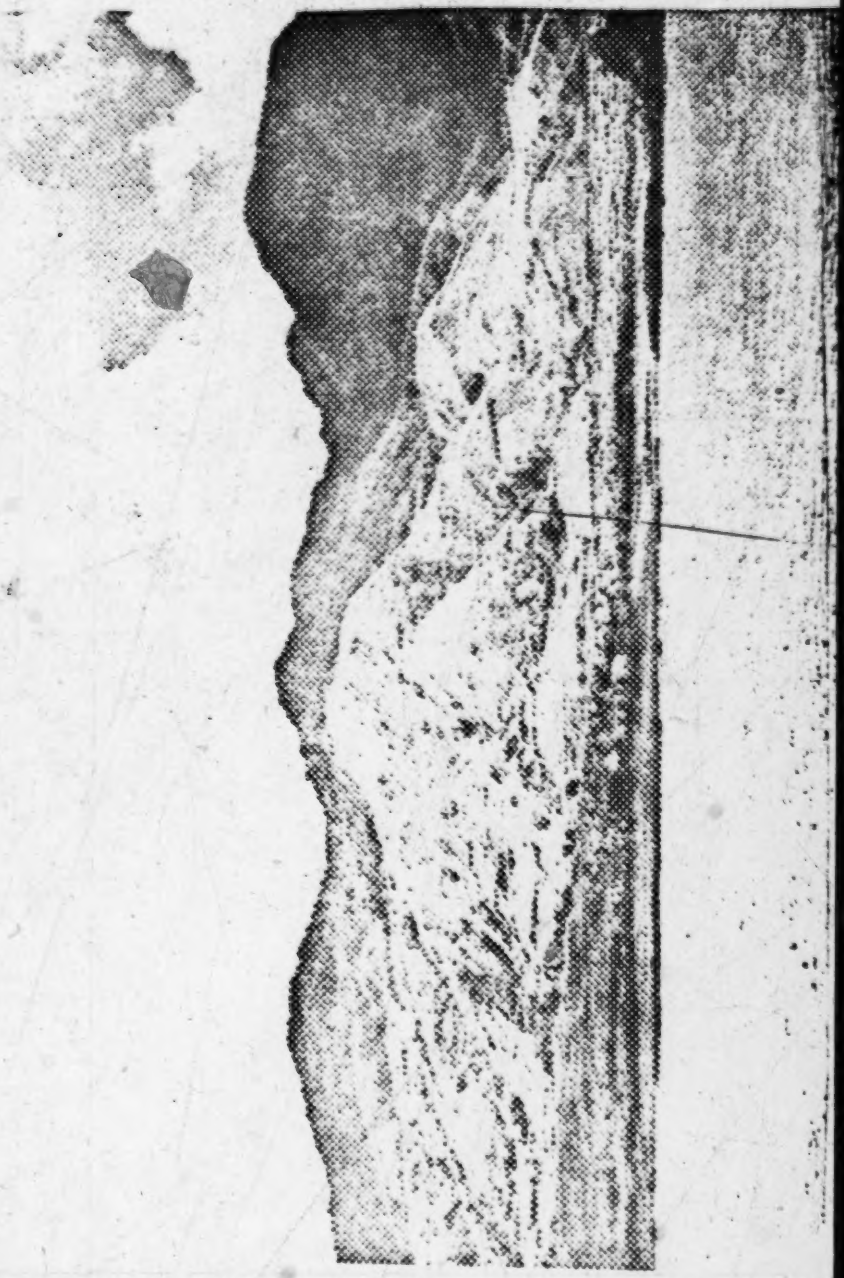

Kôtôsho From The Sea (Northwest Side)

34: Del Re--11-12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan--Aborigines-1-2
116, 101, 131, 103 Yami

"The small coral island of Kô-tô-sho (island of the red heads), exclusively inhabited by Yami, has an area of about 45 square miles and lies between Formosa and the Philippines at a distance of 45 miles and lies between Formosa and the Philippines at a distance of 45 miles from the S.E. coast of Formosa. According to the census of 1934 it had a population of 1682 including a few Japanese policemen and their families. The name of Yami appears to have been due to Dr. R. Torii who, on visiting the island in 1897, reported that, when asked the name of their tribe, the savages replied; 'Yami Kami' (Yami we), kami being the personal pronoun used exclusively to denote the first person plural. Later investigations have shown, however, that the Yami have merely accepted the name given them by the Japanese. It should be added that the Western name for the island (Botal-Tobago) first appeared in Robert Broughton's map of the N. E. coast of Asia and the Japanese Islands (Weimar, 1805). Sanson d'Abbeville's map of the Philippines (1654), gives Tabaco Xima, the latter word being obviously the transcription of shima, (island), which also appears on an old Japanese chart of (?) 1607-08. In Chinese maps of the Sung Dynasty it is called Tabako or Tambako but later, in the Ching Dynasty, it appears as An-tau-su, pronounced by the Japanese Kô-tô-sho. XVIIIth [12] century maps give its name as Botrol (1720) and Bottol (1792), the latter names being derived from Botol and Buturu, by which it is known to the Puyuma and the Ami tribes of the East coast of Formosa, geographically nearest to it. From the evidence

available Dr. Asai concludes that 'Tobago' comes from the Chinese via Japan, and 'Botai' direct from the aborigenes, and that the two names were subsequently combined by Western cartographers, possibly to avoid confusion with the other island called Tobago in the British West Indies."

34: Del Re--12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 171 Yami

"Compared with other Formosan tribes, the Yami occupy numerically, a somewhat insignificant place more than compensated, however, by the fact that they constitute a remarkably interesting and original ethnographic unit divorced linguistically and culturally from those found on the main island, and revealing considerably developed cultural patterns."

34: DelRe U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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34: Del Re--12-15 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 302, 142 Yami

"Except for ceremonial occasions, the men only wear a 'G-string' and the women a short skirt and, sometimes, a kind of cloak reaching down to the waist. They anoint their dark coffee-coloured skin with pig-fat in order to beautify themselves as well as for hygienic reasons. Their hair of a reddish hue--hence the name Kô-tô-sho--is worn long and bobbed, by the men as well as by the women. This seems to be a custom now peculiar to this tribe. Referring to the Formosan style of hairdressing an anonymous XVIIIth century Dutch writer noted that no [pages 13 and 14 contain illustrations] [15] male was allowed to wear his hair below his ears until he had reached the age of 16 or 17 after which he let his hair grow as long as the women do in Europe. The women, however, have long hair, which they never cut. Only when their hair has grown long do they begin courting. (3) Another peculiarity is that they neither smoke nor drink

3. cpr. Veerwaarlooside Formosa, Amsterdam, 1675 (subsequently cited as VF), Part I, p. 7, an invaluable and, on the whole, reliable source of information concerning the Formosan savages, particularly those inhabiting the West central and Southwestern part of the island (Sinkan) in the neighbourhood of Tayouan (present day Tainan-Anping) with whom the Dutch settlers came into closer contact.

any kind of intoxicating beverage."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

Yami Woman Spinning

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34: Del Re--15-16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 181, 625, 177.16 Yami

"On the whole they appear to have preserved almost intact their traditional social organization and religious beliefs which the Japanese not only did not attempt to modify, except in certain minor points, but took care that the natives should not be contaminated by outside contacts. These were infrequent, partly by reason of the island's inaccessibility, and partly because the authorities following a policy of segregation and in order to avoid exploitation, did not encourage casual visitors, whether Japanese or foreign. The same was true, to a lesser degree, in the case of the 'wild' savages of the interior. One of the results of this policy was an increase in the savage population. The relations between the latter and the specially chosen police force were on the whole very harmonious. Some of these policemen indeed, elected to make their permanent home among the savages [16] rather than be transferred elsewhere. The unfortunate Musha insurrection (1930) which cost the lives of a considerable number of Japanese women and children as well as policemen, and was ruthlessly suppressed, was due to the conduct of individual policemen and not the result of government policy."

34: Del Re--16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 609, 674, 829 Yami

"According to the reports published by scientific expeditions, the Yami live in a kind of idyllic natural state which might, indeed, have served as model for some of the 'naturist' utopias beloved of XVIIIth century philosophers, the essential features of which may be seen practised on Botel-Tobago. To give one instance. As far back as the oldest inhabitant is able to recollect, or at least since forty years ago when the Japanese first stationed a couple of policemen on the island, there has been no record of a single case of theft or violence among the natives. The wholesale execution of the crew of an American vessel wrecked there a few years previously of whom only two managed to escape, can hardly be considered as an exception since it appears to have been due to ritual reasons. Apart from the naturally peaceful temper of the Yami, the absence of crime is attributable less to the fact that these and other misdemeanours such as adultery are considered as crimes in themselves or as immoral actions, than to the fact that the tribe looks upon them as undesirable."

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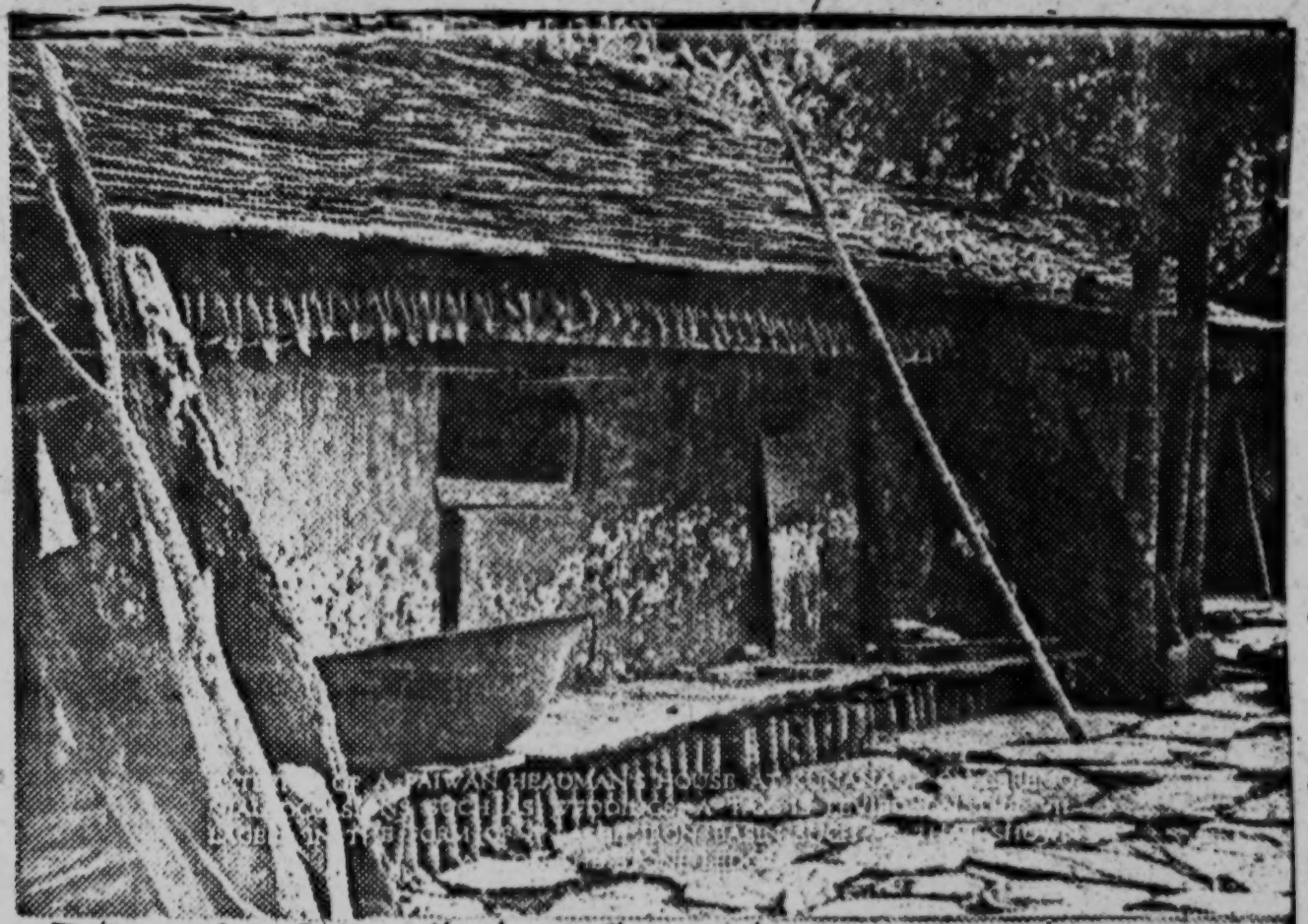

Exterior of a Paiwan Headman's House at Kunaru. On Ceremonial Occasions

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Paiwan

Tam: Paiwan

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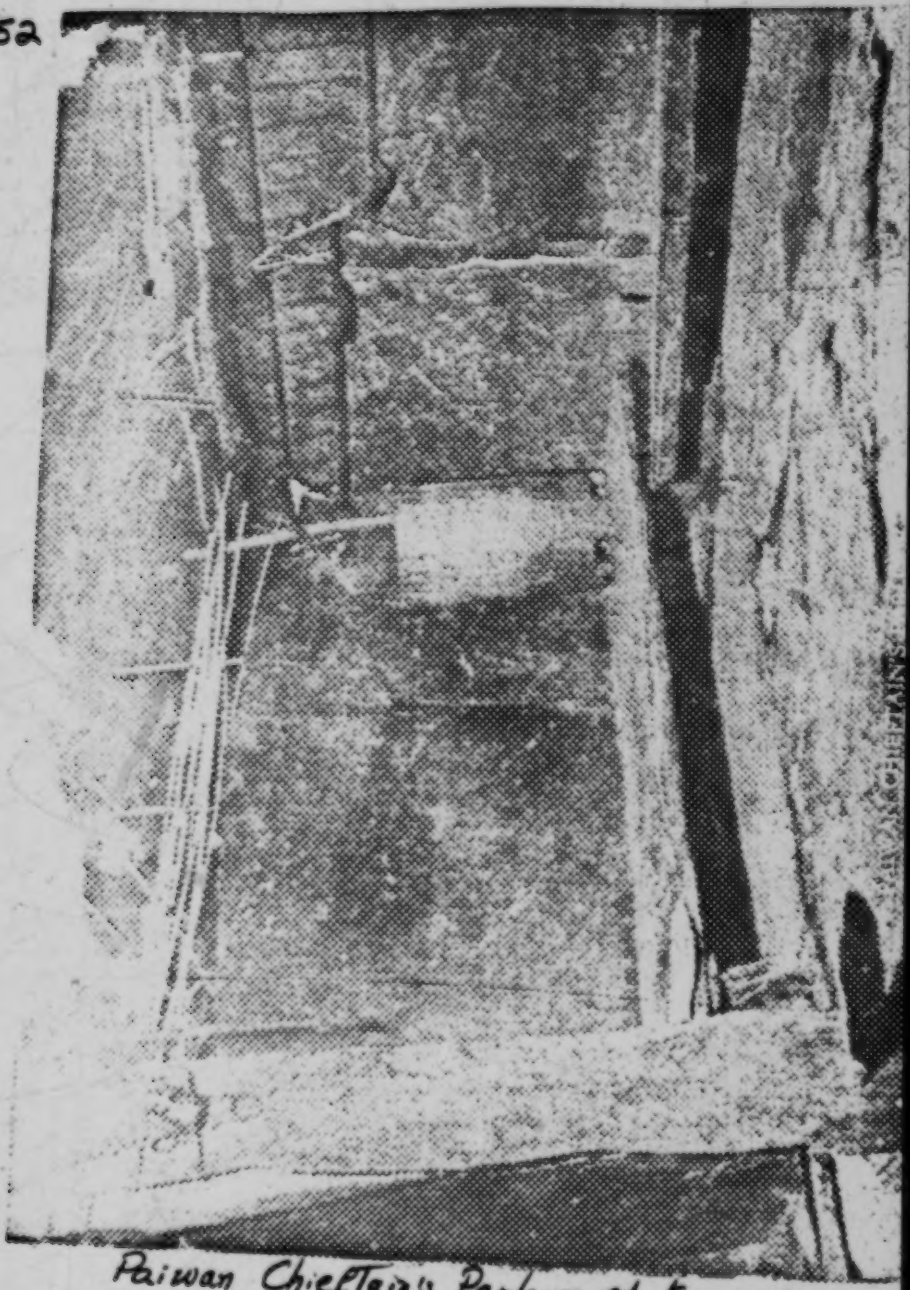

Paiwan Chieftain's Parlour at Kunanu

34: ~Del Re--16-19 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 561, 888 Yami

"The respect paid to and the great prestige enjoyed by senior members of the community is not based merely [pages 17 and 18 contain illustrations] [19] on seniority but on the personal qualities and skills of the individual as evidenced by his actions. Thus when, for whatever reason, they are considered to have outgrown their usefulness to the tribe, they automatically lose their position."

34: Del Re--19 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 623 Yami

"No hierarchic distinction exists among the islanders nor is the rotation-system practised. Village councils, called 'Quaty', consisted of 12 elders, of over fifty years of age elected by the villagers. Their powers were merely advisory and the community was not obliged to abide by their decisions. In case of offences against the gods or the community, the 'Quatys' had authority to impose a fine in kind--a custom still practised--proportionate to the gravity of the offence. (4)"

4. See below p. 62.

"When the Japanese, for administrative reasons, tried to induce the members of each village community to elect their own headsman, they met with such opposition that they were obliged to select and appoint one themselves. In practice, however, this Japanese appointee is not recognized by the natives as being anything more than a useful link between themselves and the authorities. (5) Furthermore, unlike what is the

5. cpr. VF. (Pt. I. p.5 f.)

case among other Formosan tribes, it was very difficult before the war to get youths to wear uniform or act as police assistants in spite of the considerable inducements offered them to enter government service."

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

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Yami

YAMI TRIBESMEN. NOTE BASKETWORK FISHING-HELMETS WORN ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS AND BAMBOO SPEARS.

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34:DelRe U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Yami

YAMI CANOE WITH THE BOAT-ATE TRADITIONAL DESIGN CARVED AND COLORED

501
531

34: Del Re--20-23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 421, 577, 627, 777 Yami

"The real secret of the smooth working of their system of life may be attributed to the absence of any selfish possessive feeling in respect of things and persons based on deep-rooted 'natural' ethical principles which allow the reciprocal claims of the individual and the community to be harmoniously adjusted in a spirit of freedom and equality. An illuminating instance of [pages 21 and 22 contain illustrations] [23] the application of these principles (6) is seen in the custom, which still persists though

6. According to VF (Pt. I, p. 9) community of property is not usual among other Formosan savages.

frowned upon by the police, of settling every community dispute by means of a wrestling match followed, in cases where the two parties are not satisfied, by a bloodless duel. When this occurs, the two opponents armed with bamboo lances and wearing rattan armour proceed to the seashore accompanied by their seconds and there fight it out. It rarely happens that either is seriously injured or killed, because this would be considered highly unlucky and must therefore be avoided."

34: Del Re--23-24 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 292, 301 Yami

"The Yami have no use for money except as metal which is highly prized, especially silver which, like iron, seems to have been known to the islanders from the earliest times. (7) The former is beaten out into thin silver leaves with [24]

7. See below p. 39 (Legend of Imulud).

which they cover their characteristic large 'extinguisher' ceremonial helmets worn during the Flying-Fish Festival, which are handed down as a communal treasure from generation to generation."

34: Del Re--23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 437, 178, 415, 396, 531 Yami

"Besides acting as schoolmasters and, when necessary, as doctors, the police control (as in the case of other tribes) the exchange of local products against implements imported from Formosa, which are replacing the primitive stone and shell ones used for cultivating the land, or for working wood out of which they make their domestic utensils, some of which are very handsomely carved. The Yami are particularly skilful in building canoes, no less graceful than swift and seaworthy, decorated with elaborate designs and painted sometimes in red, white and black."

34: Del Re--24-27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 361, 504, 342, 491 Yami

"A small steamship calls at the island once every ten days, weather permitting. As the sea is frequently rough and Botel-Tobago is surrounded by dangerous breakers, the ship anchors some distance out and passengers and cargo are transferred to land on a catamaran made out of heavy bamboo trunks lashed together. Apart from a small rest-house, police headquarters and the policemen's houses, all the rest are native buildings. The walls of these houses are built of large pebbles piled upon each other without mortar and covered with thatched roofs held down by large stones to prevent them being torn off by the wind. As this blows strongly practically all the year round, the houses are mainly constructed well below the level of the ground and protected by high stone walls over which only the roofs can be seen. The villages are scattered over the island, generally on the foreshore, but a few shacks and storehouses--covered with bamboo and branches of several varieties of trees--are found on the cultivated uplands and in the hills which rise steeply from the shore except where the coast forms a few open bays. During the twenties a good road was built round the island making it possible for the villagers to communicate with each other by cart or bycicle [sic]--a recent and much [pages 25 and 26 contain illustrations] [27] appreciated novelty."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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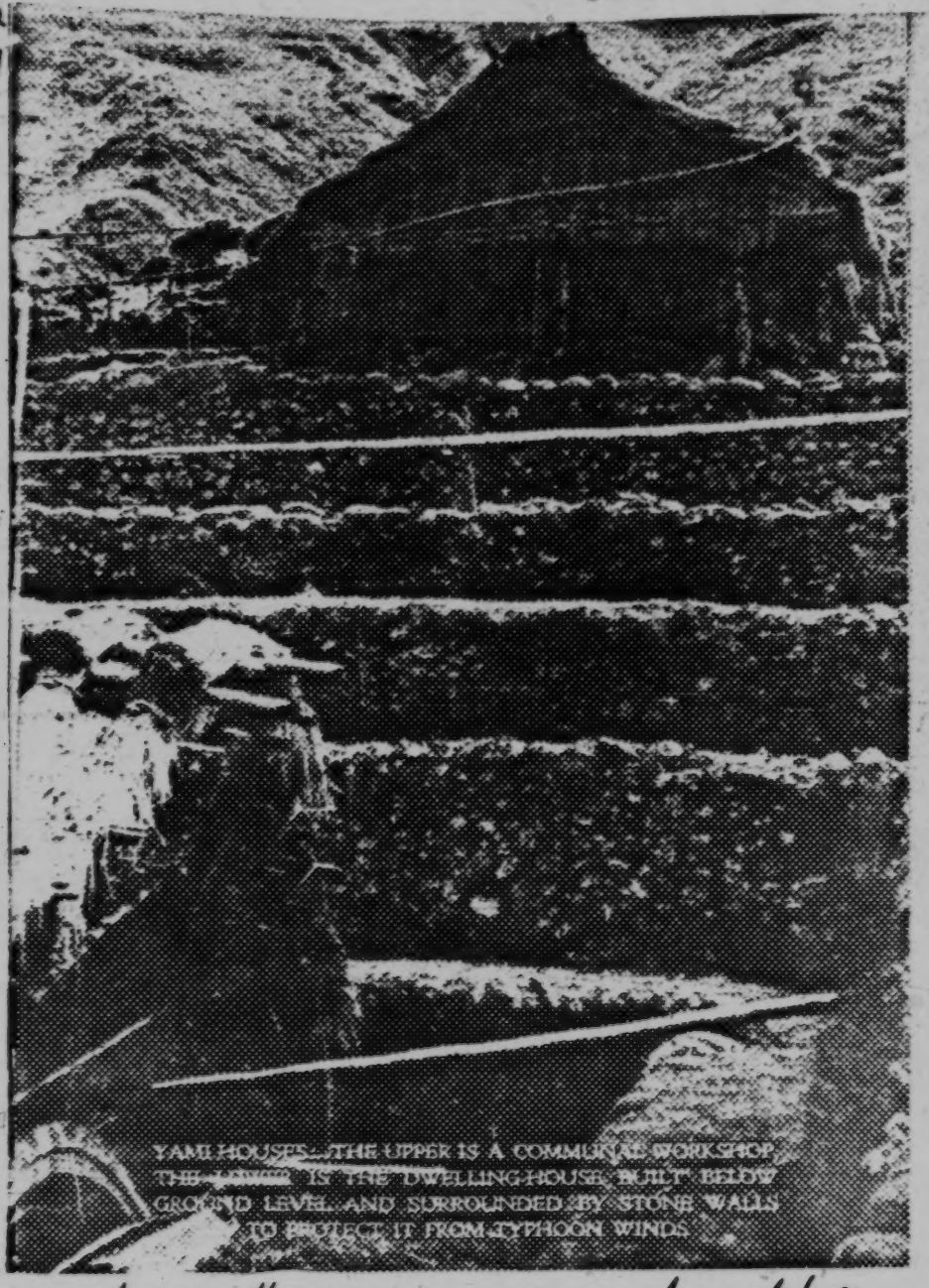
YAMI HOUSES—THE UPPER IS A COMMUNAL WORKSHOP,
THE LOWER IS THE DWELLING-HOUSE BUILT BELOW
GROUND LEVEL AND SURROUNDED BY STONE WALLS
TO PROTECT IT FROM TYPHOON WINDS

Yami houses: the upper is a communal workshop, the lower is the dwelling-house built below ground level and surrounded by stone walls To protect it from typhoon wi

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborig
Yami

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A Young Yami Girl

26

34: Del Re--27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 832, 584 Yami

"As might be expected, the family life of the Yami is also largely communal. When a youth wishes to court a girl, he approaches her and winks: if she winks back, generally speaking, all is well. Before being [sic] accepted him as a regular 'follower', the pair must have winked at one another several times after which the youth is allowed to speak to the girl and pinch her. The latter seems to be the acid test. If she pinches him back or slaps the youth's face it means that all is over between them. If, on the other hand, she has decided to accept him, she answers with a smile and they go together to a deserted hut or secluded spot where they stretch a mat on the ground and sit down on it facing each other. The youth then lays his hand on her breast and they tell each other ancient tales of love interspersed with poems which he usually improvises, to which she must reply with poems of her own. At a further stage they rub noses and embrace. In this way they spend many nights together without any more intimate intercourse. When the cock crows they separate, each returning to his own house. This preliminary stage of the courtship, which may even last several months, is called 'remembering.' During all this time the male is required to play a passive role. Indeed if he were to attempt the slightest liberty he would be at once repulsed. When the girl has finally decided to accept him as a husband, she unties his 'G-string.' "

34: Del Re--27-28 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116 583 Yami

"Unlike what is [28] the case in other Formosan tribes, the prospective bridegroom does not have recourse to his female relatives as go-betweens, nor does he need to present his bride with a rich dowry in the shape of petticoats, amulets or other ornaments, the gift of a few blue beads being considered sufficient. (8)"

8 cpr. VF, Pt. I, p. 7 for an interesting description of the nature of the dowry.

34: Del Re--28 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 584 Yami

"The following passages from a short dialogue translated by Asai entitled 'Visiting a girl' (9), gives a vivid picture of how the Formosan youths conduct their courting:

9. Asai in Some Observations on the Sedik language of Formosa (Philologia Orientalis, I, 1934, p. 69, n.)

'....Bring your Jew's harp with four reeds! We must play on it. We must visit the girl with it. This is her house, so keep quiet! ...Walk stealthily as if you were trying to escape (from an enemy). We have arrived at the girl's house. Catch her. Make her sit here! Don't let her sit there and turn (her head) sideways! Let us really sit up till morning and amuse ourselves. Go and shut the door.' "

34: Del Re--28-29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 585, 833 Yami

"In accordance with the parents' wishes, or because the girl wants to postpone the marriage, it sometimes happens that the union is not immediately consummated. The validity of a marriage does not appear to be affected by its actual consummation. This seems to have also been the case with other tribes since the author of Forsaken Formosa, writing obviously from direct knowledge of these Western savages in the middle of the XVIIIth [29] century, observes concerning this custom, that the savages apply in the fullest sense the dictum 'nuptias non concubitus sed consensus facit.' The essential requirement for a marriage, at least among the Yami, seems to be a proper fulfilment of the terms of the ritual courtship known as 'remembering.' "

34: Del Re--29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 Yami

"The wife works for her husband's family who, in turn, keep her. She is none the less free (as is also the man) to return home occasionally or to go and stay with friends. This is not the case in other tribes where the wife and the husband continue to reside in their own homes even after marriage, the woman being visited by her husband when he wishes to sleep with her and, even then, only by stealth and at night or, if by day, when no one else is in the house, and always provided his wife grants him permission to do so. (10)"

10. cpr. account of marriage customs etc. among Western tribes in VF, Pt. I, p. 8-10. This is of special interest as referring to a period in their social evolution anterior to their partial conversion to Christianity by Dutch missionaries in the South and Spanish Catholic fathers in the North, which temporarily affected their gradual sinicization. Among the former was the famous Georgius Candidius, who arrived in Formosa in 1627.

34: Del Re--29-30 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 595, 562, 831, 183 Yami

"The Yami are strictly monogamous in so far as they may only have one wife at a time. Divorce, however, is easy and merely determined by the wish of the party concerned, nor does it carry any stigma for the woman who, in this respect, has equal rights with the man. There are among the islanders women who have been divorced as [30] many as fifteen times. Contrary to what might be thought, this does not lead to laxity of morals. The level of morality in this tribe is very high notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the conspicuous absence of any sense of moral or social guilt attached to sexual intercourse."

34: Del Re--30 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 855, 882 Yami

"The children born from various unions spend their earliest years with their mother whom they must obey unconditionally. As soon as they reach maturity boys as well as girls are allowed to choose whom they will live with, contributing their quota of work in exchange for food; or they may sleep away from home in the houses of their friends or relations. Each village has furthermore a house reserved for men alone."

34: Del Re--30[2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 226 Yami

"The Yami are economically self-sufficient. They live mainly on tarð (a species of sweet potato), suli (yams), millet (sometimes referred to as Chinese corn in their poems), fish (fresh and dried), besides poultry, eggs, pork and goat. The last three, however, may not be eaten except during festival seasons, while the eating of flying-fish (exocoetus) is taboo between July and October. During several months of the year ordinary fishing is practically impossible owing to bad weather, while at others is forbidden."

34: Del Re--30-33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 825 Yami

"The Flying-Fish Festival is not only the central event of the Yami year but the whole of the communal life of the tribe revolves around it. Not without reason, indeed, since these fish not only constitute their most valued article [pages 31 and 32 contain illustrations] [33] of food, but are regarded as symbols of the tribal spirit."

34:Del R e U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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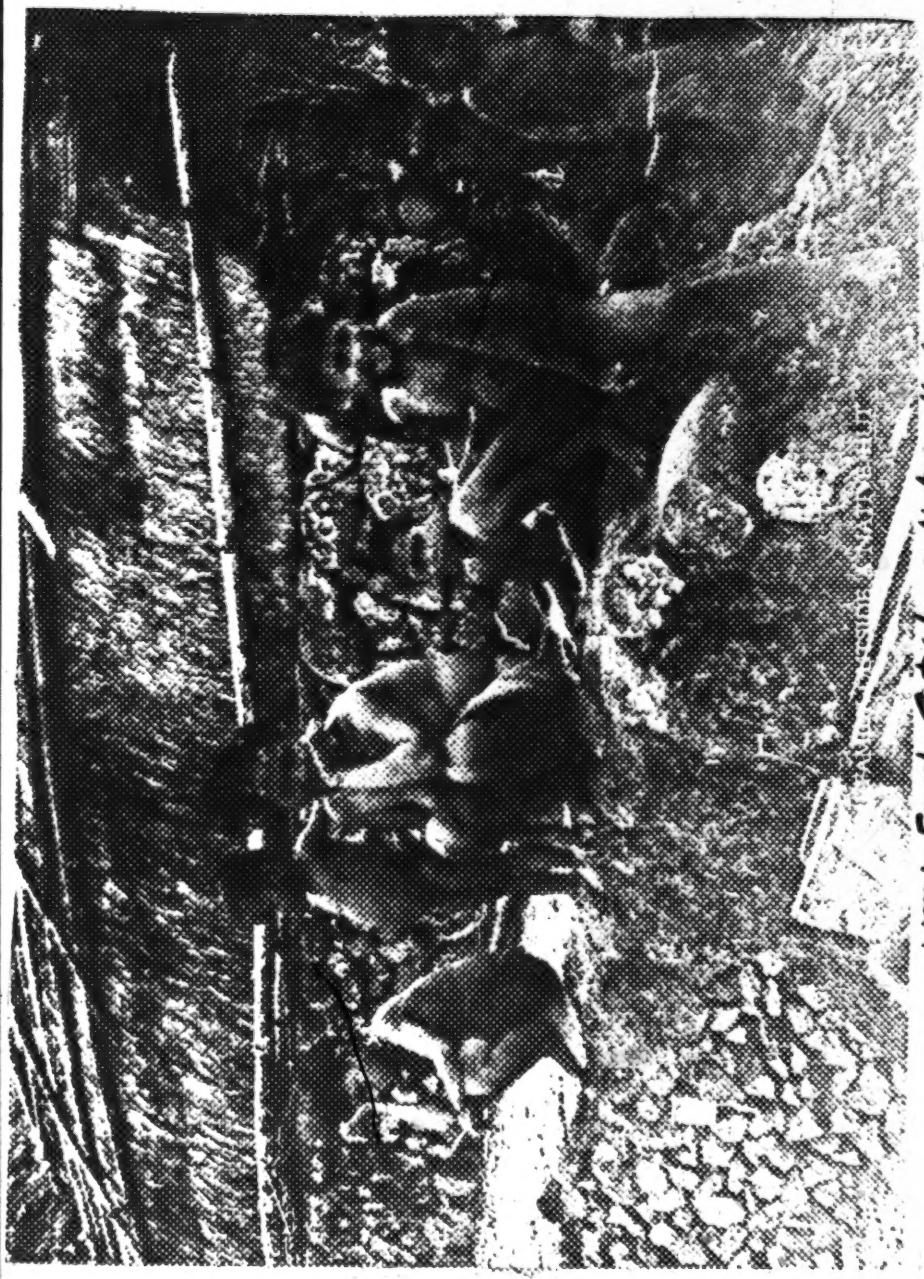

Yami Family Outside a Native Hut

Old Yami couple in ceremonial costume: Note the silver flying-fish ceremony helmet and the silver headgear and plagues worn by the woman.

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34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

34: Del Re--33-34 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 784, 562, 823, 226, 793 Yami

"So great is the importance attributed to the visit of the flying fish, that during this period fishermen are required to observe a large number of prescriptive taboos, as well as others connected with the numerous rituals observed during the actual ceremonies. These are summed up in the following commandments:---'When you go fishing, do not look down into the water.' 'Do not spit into the sea: spit into the air so that your spittle may fall upon the sea like rain.' 'Do not cast stones into the sea' ---and many others of a like nature. Another important taboo connected with the sea and most stringently enforced at this time, is that no woman shall touch or have anything to do with the flying-fish ceremony, or approach close to, much less enter, the sea. It would appear that this is related to the early creation myth in which a pregnant woman by enter-[34]ing the sea was the cause of the great flood which covered the island and destroyed all life upon it. (11)"

11. See Legand of Imulud, AYL, p. 92 lines 1 ff.

34: Del Re--34-37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 241, 796 Yami

"In the Yami calendar the months of May, June and July (i. e. November, December and January) are almost wholly given up to catching flying-fish, the greater part of which are dried. The fishing is done by night, from small canoes and in large ones during the first two months, but, on the third, only by day. During the fourth month however, fishing by night and by day and with small canoes is permitted. Meanwhile the womenfolk collect the fibrous bark of certain shrubs, mainly the abaka, which they dye, spin and weave on primitive handlooms into cloth with admirably decorative designs in colour. When the flying-fish season is over, and during the months of August and September (February, March) the crops of taro and suli are gathered in and the fields worked over October (April) is the month set aside specially for the making of the earthenware dishes and pots used in the flying-fish ceremony. During November (May) they finish eating their store of dried flying-fish, while December (June) is mainly devoted to preparing the lime the savages chew with their betel-nuts, used for both medical and dyeing purposes. In January (July) they cut down the onigaya (misacanthus) out of which they fashion torches for the flying-fish ceremony, and celebrate the mil-[pages 35 and 36 contain illustrations] [37] let harvest. Millet, suli and taro are sown in February (August), while March (September) is principally given up to catching mamibiki, a largish flat fish which is found in considerable quantities in these waters."

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DRYING FLYING FISH ABOVE THE ROOF OF A NATIVE HOUSE

Drying flying fish above the roof of a native house

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Yami

35

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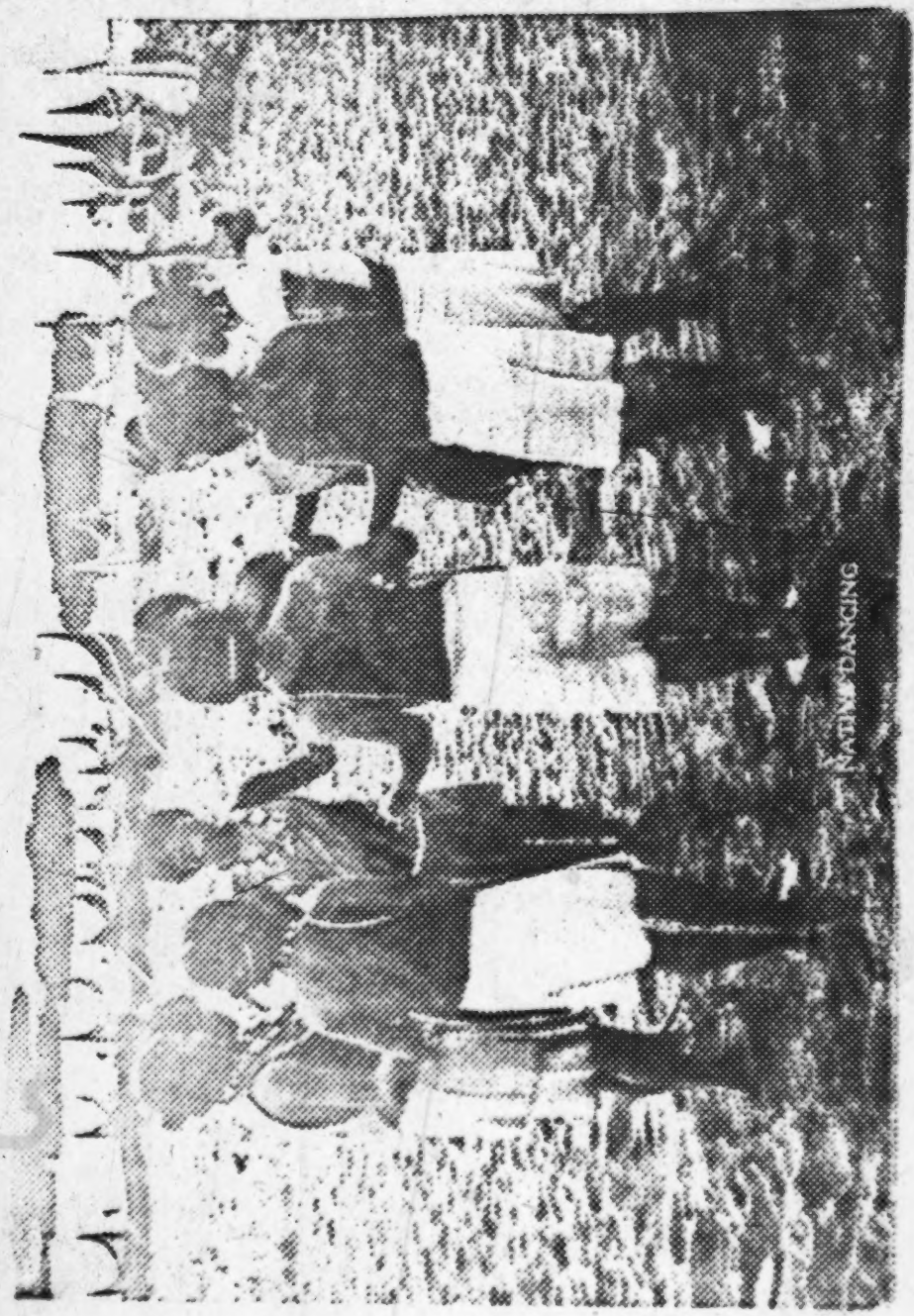

34: Del Re--37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 535 Yami

"The above necessarily brief account may serve, to give a general idea of the characteristics of Yami island life in which story-telling, singing and dancing play a very important part. As frequent among primitive tribes, these songs or chants are of the !carol' type and are accompanied by rythmic movements of various kinds, stamping of feet, clapping of hands etc. The dances do not appear to have a set air which sometimes changes in the middle of the dance. The songs are not specially composed for the purpose and are frequently chosen from among those improvised and sung by men on special occasions--love songs, songs about flying-fish, travel or harvest, which reflect the life, customs and beliefs of the community. In general girls alone take part in the dances which last each for only a few minutes, some being danced in a circle, some in single rows or in two rows facing one another."

34: Del Re--37-38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 626, 796 Yami

"In concluding these remarks it should be stressed that while each individual must contribute by his work to the welfare of the community, he is otherwise free to join or not as he pleases in the communal life without exposing himself to criticism or censure except, of course, during the flying-fish festival where failure to comply with the tribal customs would not only involve him but the whole [38] community in the direst misfortunes."

34: Del Re--38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans Aborigines
116, 114, 127

"The island has been occasionally visited by Japanese scientific expeditions which have collected much valuable data that still remain to be fully studied. In 1937, Dr. Stewart of Columbia University (New York), accompanied by two other foreigners, made a stay there of about two months studying the life of the islanders from the point of view of analytical psychology. To him I am indebted for the account of the Yami cosmos, as well as for a number of native drawings and photographs."

34: Del Re--38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 868 Yami

"Possessing neither written language, laws nor a religious caste to preserve their traditions and taboos, it is the duty of the elders to pass on to their children the treasures handed down to them by their forefathers, to which they add the fruits of their personal experience. All such traditional or new material is embodied into gnomic sentences, legends and tales which they tell by the seashore or on the slopes of the hills, thus preserving the ancient tribal spirit."

34: Del Re--38-42 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-16
116, 539 Yami

"Among the traditional folk-tales of the Yami, the creation myth and the account of the Yamic cosmos given below are of special interest. The former, which presents notable variants among the various tribes, has been written down and translated into Japanese by Dr. N. Ogawa (emeritus professor of the Taihoku Imperial University) and by Dr. E. Asai professor of comparative linguistics in [39] the same university. (12)

12. Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes. Texts, Notes. Taihoku, 1935. The Yami legends are given on pp. 751-783.

While not written in verse, such accounts are rhapsodic as will be seen from the creation myth known as the Legend of Imulud--from the village whence it was collected --portions of which are quoted below. It should be added that the legend in question properly speaking combines myth and historical events into a kind of epos.

.....The God saw the flat ground and said: 'Good is the island of Yami!' (Then) he dropped a large stone on Ipaptok. (13) The stone burst and gave birth to a human

13. Ipaptok: i.e. the place where 'paptok' (a coarse leguminous plant) grows, now the name of a village. i is a locative prefix and is affixed to all Yami village names. (AYL, p. 34)

being. (14) The human being ate paptok as there was no other food. He went down

14. Asai (AYL, p. 73) gives the text (n. 4) and translation of the short Yami tale of the two sisters of Imasik who carried a 'lalitan' stone to Ilalai and poured water on the top of it saying 'I baptize you on the crown of the head, and you shall be a man.' The baptism was imitated by the Yami. 'I point the finger at the crown of your head, and your name shall be Sitoronan.' At first his hands and next his hands grew, then his eyes opened. His nose and his ears came out; the hairs grew. He began to speak; he spoke fluently. (He was) a man called Sitoronan.

towards the sea. A bamboo sprang up near the sea. The bamboo split open and gave birth to a human being. (15) The son of the stone descended towards the sea-plain. The

15. cpr. below, p. 62 ff., Creation Myth of the Puyuma tribe.

son of the bamboo climbed up to the uplands weeping. The two met in a misacanthus grove. 'What is our [40] name?' said the one. 'We are tau (human beings) replied the

other. They walked here and there. The son of the bamboo went to Ivalinu. He stopped at Kasavilugan where he found silver. The son of the stone went to Ilatai. He stopped at Imasapau and there he found iron. Then they went to their house at Ikavusidan where they lived. And the son of the stone beat out the hard iron, and the son of the bamboo beat out silver -- soft silver. (16)

16. A more specific account of the finding of iron is given in the following passage from the Legend of Ilalai (AYL, p. 65): 'The ancestors had no iron mattocks. They took stones, split and ground. Those were the ploughing instruments for the fields. A little later one man went to the shore and found a-float, a drifting board. He saw it. There was much iron, used by overseas people for joining boats together. He took it to the village. He broke it and hammered it, and made an axe, and a blade for digging out yams. He sharpened it, and went to cut wood in the mountain....'

Long were the penes of these two and they were joined to their knee-joints. And the knee-joints swelled and itched. And from the knee-joints of the son of the bamboo issued offspring: a male from the right knee-joint and a female from the left. And a male

issued from the right knee-joint of the son of the stone and a female from the left. These brothers and sisters married and a blind child was born to them, (17) wherefore they

17. A similar misadventure occurred to the child of the first bamboo couple in the Puyuma myth.

exchanged wives. And the daughter of the son of the stone was married to the male child of the [41] son of the bamboo, and the daughter of the son of the bamboo was married to the male child of the son of the stone. And they begat three generations of children.

They built themselves canoes. (Buf) the (soft) silver bent against the (hard wood of the) tree. 'Let us exchange' (said the son of the bamboo to the son of the stone), 'you take (the) silver and I'll take (the) iron!'

(And they made the following song):----

(Though) I love silver
I have nothing like unto this iron!
We (want to) hew wood,
We (want to) fell a large tree.

34: Del Re--38-42 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-5
116, 539 Yami

They performed the lauching ceremony: finished were the canoes. The canoes were launched: they were pushed down (into the sea). Ribs were fixed on the outside of the canoe of the son of the stone: ribs were fixed on the inside of the canoe of the son of the bamboo. The canoe of the son of the bamboo was cast aside: it was broken up. The canoe of the son of the stone was launched: it entered the sea. It floated (and) filled with water. 'Bad' said he. He took fibre of the kulan (tree) and stopped the leaks. 'Mended already' said he. He discovered how to make plugs out of the kulan (tree)....

....For five generations those named tau (hu-[42]mans) lived on the uplands. (They said): 'Let us go down to Iminavuit (the sea).' (18)....It was the season of flying

18. The succeeding passage (AYL, p. 51) tells how the ancestors of the upland (bamboo) people taught their descendants the names of certain animals--swine, fowls, goats. After five generations the 'out-bursters from the bamboo,' now sixty in number, appear to have established themselves as fishermen and were taught by their grandsires the names of many fishes and that of some 77 trees and plants. (AYL, p. 53).

fish; they caught flying-fish at Imalamai. (And they made this song):---
From Ipaptok, the place of the bursting-forth of humans,

Descending here, to the plain of the sea,
He performed the fish-calling ceremony (19) at Imalamai.

19. min-apa-i-vanua, lit. obj. prefix-caused-to-come-to-land. The fishing is done by torchlight, the flares being fixed to the curved stern of the canoes.

I landed at Isakawalanan.
A torch was lighted:
the fish were dazzled by the fire-flames."

THE FLYING-FISH CEREMONY (*Native Drawing*): Note decorated communal canoes and silver helmets

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34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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A 'Ten-Man Fishing Boat' (Chimusikau) Setting Out Between the Coral Reefs

34: Del Re-42-53 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-8
116, 539

"Another interesting creation myth is that of the Puyuma tribe which, geographically, is located nearest to the Island of Kô-tô-sho. It has some points of resemblance with the traditions current among the Yami, and is of value as a piece of documentary evidence. According to tradition, the first home of the Puyuma was near the village of Chipon, a few chilometres from Taito, on the coast of Formosa, at a place called Panapanayan (see map) where [pages 43 and 44 contain illustrations] [45] in times of emergency, it was customary for the Puyuma tribesmen to gather to deliberate. The founders of the Puyuma tribe were the god Pacomarai and the goddess Paconsel, both of whom issued from a bamboo. The myth is also common to the island of Ka-sho-tô and to the Paiwan tribe. The account is based on the story told Dr. Stewart by a young Yami tribesman.

In ancient days the god called Ibago caused bamboos and other trees to grow on the islands (i.e. Kashotô, Kôtôsho and possibly Taiwan itself). The god then ordered the wind to blow first in one direction and then in the other until the bamboo split open. First a woman sprang out of it, then a man. The god ordered the woman to take the path on the right round the village and to go to his house by the sea. Then he ordered the man to do likewise, but to take the path on the left. The god married them on the sea-shore. The woman gave birth to a female child who had no bones and was blind. Then the god was angry and said: 'This is not good. You are both wicked.' Shortly after the baby died and the god caused the man and the woman both to die.

34: Del Re--42-53 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 539

And again Ibago caused a large bamboo to sprout. This time the man came out first and the woman second. The god then ordered them to go down to the sea-shore, the man taking the path on his right, the woman on his [46] left. Then he married them. From this union was born a male child perfect in body, followed by a girl. Later, another boy and another girl were born, in the same order. But when the first elder children grew older a skin disease covered the whole of their bodies. Then the god said to himself: 'This couple also is not very good. But Ill treat them differently from the other one and shall send them to Saffran (Kashoto).' And the god threw a wooden bridge over the sea, joining the coast to the island. In the island there was a very tall pole which touched the sky, for the sky in those days was lower than it is now. Flocks of black birds flew round and round the pole, and the sky was lifted up to where it is at present.

The younger children of the union married and they too had four children, in the same order. These, notwithstanding the strict order of the god Ibago, ate so much of the fruit of the kira tree, that the god became angry and said to them: 'Because I wish you to be ashamed of having disobeyed my orders and eaten so much of my fruit, from henceforth you shall bear upon your bodies the mark of your shame.' Saying thus he made a hole in the earth and cast them into it. From that day they, who had not known shame and went about naked, began to cover their genitals with strips of tree fibre.

Thus originated the habit of wearing clothes.

For some years they lived in the underworld. Then the eldest pair came up on to the earth again while the [47] younger brothers continued to live underground and earned their living by tilling the soil and cultivating the land for their elder brothers. Then their buffaloes died and they were no longer able to till the fields, so they went down to the sea to fish. But no sooner had they entered the sea than they were changed into large fish and never were seen again. (20)

> 20. It seems that the natives, believing that these large fish cause storms, instituted an annual ceremony of pacification in which only youths and girls take part, since the original couple changed into fish were also young.

Meanwhile the eldest children of the first coupld (who had remained in heaven) had married each other and had had two children. The girl, who was exceedingly beautiful, obtained permission from Ibago to descend upon the earth in order to visit her cousins. All the youths of the village fell in love with her and wished to marry her, so she chose one. But the unfortunate bridegroom while consummating the union had his penis severed by the sharp teeth that encircled her vulva. The parents of the youth indignant at the death of their son, seized the girl and wrapping her in a red cloth, put her inside

a box which they tied up in a red blanket and cast into the sea.

The current carried the box to a small island. The chieftain of the island seeing something red floating on the sea ordered the box to be brought to shore. When the box was opened and the beautiful girl was discovered [48] he fell desperately in love with her and determined to make her his wife. Having found out in time that her vulva had sharp teeth, he ordered that the lower set should be broken off by means of a stone. Having done this they inserted a sweet potato which, in spite of the precautions previously taken, was severed in two. The chieftain, however, refused to give up hope and having finally managed to extract all the teeth by means of a bamboo joint, he married her and had two children. (21) When these grew up they also married one

21. Similar legends which, according to some psychologists, are connected with the castration complex, are found among the Australian aborigenes. (see Roheim, Australian Totemism, pp. 64, 420.

another and had two children, one female the other male.

One day, returning from hunting in the mountains, the father saw two birds flying overhead and cawing like crows. Surprised at this unusual occurrence, he looked at them carefully and observed that their heads and legs were like those of his children. Hurrying home he asked his wife where his children were. 'They have gone out to play' --she answered--' and I do not know where they are.' The children had gone down to the river to play without telling their mother and when they returned she got very angry and threw boiling fat on them. As soon as the fat touched them, they leaped up into the air lifting their arms crying ka-ka, and were changed into crows. (22) [49]

22. cpr. The Scottish legend of the Twa Corbies which presents some interesting analogies.

Day after day the father waited anxiously for their return, and the longer he waited the more suspicious he grew that his wife had done them some mischief. At last, overcome with sorrow, he died and was changed into a large rock, called bara in the Puyuma language.

After several years had passed, the rock opened and two children issued from it and went to visit the wicked widow and asked her for food. The woman threw them some potato parings. The elder cleaned them and gave them to his little brother who was very hungry. As they could not live on such meagre fare they began to steal sugarcane from

the field of a neighbour in the village. To avoid being discovered they used to cry kît-kîte imitating the voice of a small lizard, so that the villagers should think that spirits were stealing their cane. (23) But the villagers having grown suspicious,

23. cpr. below, p. 64, the malicious activities of the anitos who inhabit the bodies of rats.

spread cinders all round the cane field and so were able to catch the thieves whom they tied and threw into a hut where they fed them on insects, snakes, snails and centipedes. The youngest brother being unable to eat such food, grew daily thinner and weaker. The elder one, however, managed to bite through the rope and to free himself. Hiding in a cave, he built himself a large kite. Launching it into the air he scrambled up the rope and reached heaven (24) [50] where he seized a large knife and flew back to earth with

24. cpr. the reference to the visit to the goddess Siturijau who lived in one of the heavenly villages of the Tau-rô-tô. (AYL, p. 57)

the knife between his teeth. After cutting open the belly of a pregnant woman to avenge himself over the Bunum tribe who had treated him so shamefully, he ran to free his little brother and carried him to the cave. The boy was crying and complaining of pains in his stomach due to the insects which he had eaten, whereupon the elder brother threatened to drive the knife down his throat if he did not shut up, and frightened him so much that he vomited all the insects into a pool called Tomonya, where they still may be seen.

34: Del Re--42-53 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-7
116, 539

The brothers lived for some time near this pool. Then they went into the mountains where they built themselves a house by the road leading to the village from which they had stolen the sugarcane. One day the younger brother went to visit his aunt (25)

25. The legend appears to be somewhat confused. It is to be supposed that the aunt was a descendant of the stone men.

taking with him a number of small bells which he hung from the rafters of the house and told her that they were going to send an earthquake in order to punish the villagers. He warned her that when the earthquake came the bells would ring, but that she need not be afraid because her house would be protected by their peal. He also told her to impress upon his uncle that when the bells began to ring, he must not leave the house under any pretext. Shortly afterwards the promised earthquake took place, destroying the [pages 51 and 52 contain illustrations] [53] village and killing everyone except the uncle and aunt. But the former, forgetting his nephews' orders, ran into the street and the elder brother thinking he was a villager trying to escape, ran him through with his lance. The elder brother was stricken with remorse over this mishap. Soon afterwards his hands and feet became paralysed. Being now entirely unable to do anything for himself, he was cared for very lovingly by his younger brother whom he had looked after when he

was young and feeble.

The house built by the brothers and the roof-tree of their uncle's house may still be seen at Panapanayan in the country of the Puyumas."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Paiwan

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A Paiwan village in the mountains of Southeast Formosa

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34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Paiwan

622
292

Paiwan Chief in full dress

52

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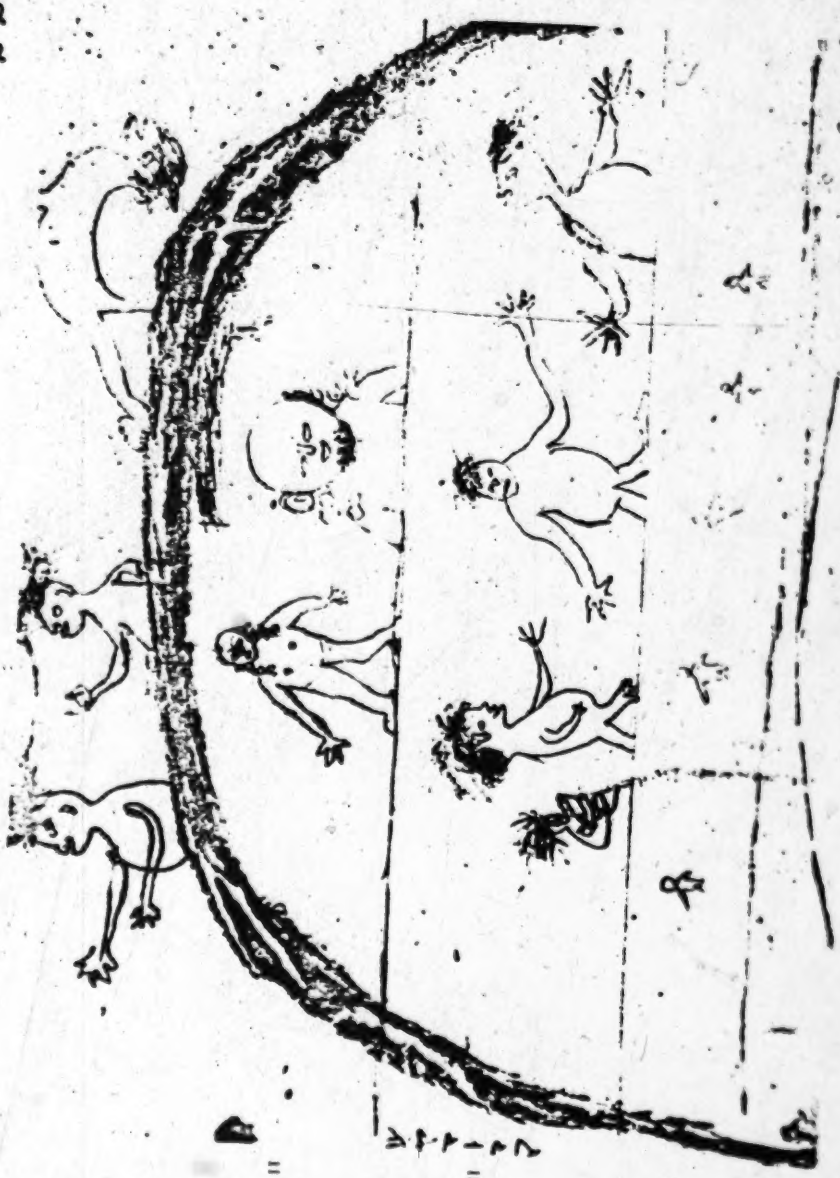
Yami

772
532



(The Yami Cosmos -- See p. 55 for explanation -- analyst]

34: Del Re--53-58 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 772 Yami

"Unlike other Formosan tribes on the main island, the Yami have an elaborate and well-organized conception of their cosmos, as may be seen from the two drawings executed by natives for which I am indebted to Dr. Stewart, as well as for the accompanying descriptive notes collected by him directly from his informants. [MLB: see pp. 54-56, cat. 116] The ideas embodied in it have still to be studied critically and in relation to possible connections that may exist between this and similar traditions current among Indonesian tribes. Here it is offered merely [sic] illustrate the Yami conception of the universe.

The Yami cosmos consists of eight or, in some accounts, nine (figs. I & II), superimposed elliptic planes [pages 54-56 contain illustrations] [57] supported by five massive tree trunks on the lowest plane. It is known as the world of the 'anito gods' who are differentiated from 'anito demigods,' 'anito humans,' 'Yami anitos,' disembodied anitos and anito spirits which live in the bodies of snakes, rats, butterflies, etc. In addition to these it also contains 'earth-gods,' men, Yami and animals.

According to the Yami, their universe is the work of the goddess Nunurao. In the Dutch work already referred to however, the creator of human beings called Tamagisangah, lived in the South and made them beautiful or ugly according to whether or not they sacrificed to him. His wife was the goddess Teraychapada (or Takarupada) who lived in the East and loved humanity greatly. When it thunders in the East 'they

say that the Goddess speaks with her husband and scolds him because he does not let it rain. When her husband hears her voice he at once causes rain to fall. This Goddess is mostly worshipped by women. (There is another god) Sariasap who lives in the North and is always angry with mankind. Thus while Tamagisangah makes the men beautiful, he changes them to ugly and pock-marked, for which reason all men daily pray to this god not to do them harm and to the other to ask him to defend them from Sariasap and to punish him for doing them wrong. Besides these they have still other gods whom they invoke, two of whom--one called Tolasulo and the other Tapalisepe--look after their wars, as well as other gods and [58] goddesses to each one of whom they attribute special powers.' (26)

26. VF (Pt. I, p. 12).

The divinities of the first plane (fig. 1) live in a region above the firmament and seem to form a special category of their own. To them alone is entrusted the task of making rain, thunder and lightning. In the drawing just mentioned the first figure on the left is that of the highest god. The central figure represents the anito storm-god who has a son (extreme right) who is often lazy and disobedient. To punish him, his

his father places him in a box which he sends rolling across the heavens with a mighty clatter. This, say the Yami, is the cause of thunder. These gods have no direct relation with the Yami who neither invoke nor make sacrifices to them. Some believe, however, that should the tribe be guilty of some exceptional misdeed, the gods would afflict the island with some terrible natural disaster. Though not directly stated, the flood which wiped out life on Kô-tô-sho mentioned in the legend of Imulud may have been caused by something of this kind. Generally speaking, however, the conduct of the tribe does not concern them."

34: Del Re U-4 [no date] Notes on Formosan Aborigines

THE YAMI COSMOS FIG. 1 (*Native Drawing*)

I. The future on the right is that of the lazy sun rolling across the heavens.
II. Tao-ro-to Gods: Shimo-ra-po and Shimo-mi-ma.
III. Anito Gods: Shivairai (C), Shiparimd (R). Note the wild hair and pot-bellies which characterize the Anitos in this and lower planes.
IV. Pi-na-lung-ao goddesses.
V. Yami Plane.
VI. Yami-Anitos.
VII. (Upper part): Anito (L), Entrance to human underworld (C), Humans (C), (R).
(Lower part): Yami couple (R) and subterranean house (C), Humans (L). Note the peculiarly round-faced appearance of the Yami, similar to that of and plane gods.
VIII. Bases of the tree trunks supporting the Yami Cosmos.

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34; Del Re--58-59 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116. 775 Yami

"It is worth noting that the Yami--unlike most of the main-island tribes who have no traditions concerning a creator of the world and believe that it will continue for all eternity--do not appear to have any idea of an after-[59] life or of retribution, such as is found, for instance, among the Tayals who believe that those who have done evil will be punished, and those who have done good will enter, through a narrow gate placed at the end of a steep and difficult path, into a kind of paradise. None of the planes of the Yami cosmos are in the nature of retributory abodes after death, akin to the place of voluptuous pleasures and of filth assigned to the good and the bad by certain tribes (27),

27. VF, Pt. I, p. 12.

which suggest eschatological ideas of Chinese origin."

"The anito of the first plane differs from all other anitos in that he was an anito before becoming a god, although no one seems to know when or how long he previously existed as a god. In some respects he may be regarded as the spirit (anito) of the dead god or as a divine spirit. All the gods of this plane, whether living or in the state of anito, have to work, but are endowed with the power of creation by a simple act of will.

The shaded arch that separates the first from the second plane symbolizes rain (figure I). The circles (in figure II) represent the sun which is found on this (2nd) plane as well as on the 7th, the 5th one having two. This alternation of sunless planes is explained by the fact that since each day is divided into darkness and light, the planes lying between those having suns, are necessarily [60] dark. It may be noted that these planes--except the 4th, 9th and the 7th of human beings living underground--are anito planes. The gods of plane 2, are called Shimo-ra-po (left) and Shio-mi-ma (right) and are, respectively, male and female. They are the most important divinities of the Yami and the only ones on this plane known by name, all the others bearing the generic name of Tau-rô-tô i.e., humans who live in heaven. More numerous than the Yami, it is believed that the tribe learned from them the art of weaving and that of building houses. The first man who issued from a stone, built himself a great house divided into several compartments each of which capable of containing...fifty persons. (28) Later, when the

28. Presumably the house at Ivakusidan mentioned in the

Legend of Imulud.

families grew too numerous they built other houses of the same size and design examples of which may still be seen in many parts of Botel-Tobago. Large houses of the same type are also frequent in other savage districts of Formosa 'made of bamboo and with many ornaments, but without ceiling, having four doors, which are placed crosswise opposite each other in the North, East, South and West. Sometimes they have six doors, i.e., two facing East, two West and two North. The houses are erected about four feet above the ground on clay foundations.' (29) In some parts, however, they

29. VF, Pt. I, page 4.

are built on piles or stones. The [61] building of what may have been the first Yami house is thus described in the Legend of Ilalai. (30)'...He cut poles for his house.

30. AYL, page 67.

He cut a broad board, and called many men and returned. He fed the helpers with a large pig and taros, and he served the helpers substantially. The boards were completed, and so a house was built. The standing poles for the house were thirty.

They fastened a beam, and continued to build, and there were many men who helped him to thatch. When they had finished thatching, they took taros. They prepared food, and invited relatives. Those who were invited came. They wore silver helmets and sang in the evening. . . .'

The silver helmets mentioned call vulagnat, are worn on ceremonial occasions. As is well-known communal houses are found elsewhere in Indonesia which serves to confirm the opinion held by some ethnologists that the Yami are not, properly speaking, aborigenes but immigrants from some other part of the Malay Archipelago or further afield. These Tau-rô-tô or Tau-du-to are all good divinities whose main business it is to provide the Yami with the necessaries of life. They are divided into two classes the lower, more numerous than the others, serving as messengers or attendants of the higher gods. The chief of these is known as si torijau or si umina. The in-[62] ferior gods are called si animus or si vidai. They all use silver plates and spoons."

34: Del Re--62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 772, 173, 582, 776 Yami

"Unnatural death, failure of crops, death of livestock are considered punishments meted out by them. (31) [MLB: i.e., the inferior gods] Like the gods of the upper

31. AYL, p. 80, n.

plane, they are endowed with the power to will the creation of anything. Their life, food and dress are, in all respects, similar to those of the Yami save that their houses are built entirely of gold, and are found in the seven heavenly villages, corresponding to the seven villages of the island, each of which is under the protection of the god of its respective heavenly village. The gods must always reside in their own village and may not take to wife a goddess from another village. This suggests that, in earlier days, intermarriage between the different communities on the island was taboo. At present, however, such a prescription appears no longer to be enforced. During the annual festivals the islanders call upon and make offerings to these gods of yams, taro, millet and other fruits of the earth to ensure a good harvest and a plentiful catch of flying-fish. There are also anitos on this plane, but they are harmless."

34: Del Re--62-64 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539, 772 Yami

"The direct interest taken by these gods in the welfare of the tribe is illustrated by the following legend:---

Once upon a time there lived on Kô-tô-sho a very handsome youth who was very poor. One of the Tau-[63]rô-tô goddesses being sorry for him, told her niece to descend upon the island and to marry him. The niece at first refused, but later the aunt succeeded in making her take pity on the youth. Having reached the island, she approached the youth and asked him to marry her. The youth, however, refused her offer saying that he was too poor to keep himself much less a family. The girl finally got her way by promising that she would make him rich. After nine years of marriage, during which she bore him two sons, the mother returned to heaven taking with her the youngest child, leaving the husband and the eldest son behind.

A man still lives in one of the villages of Kô-tô-sho who claims to be directly descended from this goddess.

The figures shown in the 3rd plane (fig. I), Shipariud (right) and Shivairai (centre), are the principal gods of this heaven which is also inhabited by many other divinities the names of which are unknown. The latter are 'anito-demigods' whose main function seems to be that of living at the expense of the other inferior beings of the Yami universe. Being unable to make a living by themselves, and unwilling to work, they steal food from the Yami entering for that purpose into the bodies of rats and other rodents. Whenever a rat

is killed the anito has to find another abode, which often is the body of a bird or a butterfly. In the course of this transmigration, however, he loses his power to harm. In earlier times the [64] island is supposed to have had no rats which--so the tradition goes --were brought over by a (?) Japanese boat and and [sic] spreading over it ravaged the crops. In view of this, it is easy to understand how it came about that the Yami later added to their universe a plane peopled entirely by a special class of wicked anitos. According to some, these anitos are not naturally evil but only become so when they pass into the body of a rat. It is generally believed that they take pleasure in preventing plants from coming to fruition, or in causing the seed to rot in the earth, or spoiling the crops after they have been harvested."

34: Del Re--64-67 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 539, 772, 842 Yami

"The 4th plane (figure I) is entirely peopled by divinities of female sex called Pi-na-lung-ao, the chief of whom is the goddess Shi-nun-manuri, who exercise a function somewhat akin to that of the classical Moirai. When a child is about to be born the goddess must be consulted to ensure--as far [sic] possible--that an equal number of males and females are born in each generation. Sometimes, however, Shi-nun-manuri forgets the correct number and confusion arises, but this is at once set right in the following generation. At the time of birth the goddesses pour water into a bowl and shake it: if only a small amount of water is spilled the new-born child will have a long life, but if all the water is spilled it will die soon. Length of life depends entirely on the amount of water spilled, nor is it affected by any preceding action of the parents or by what the individual may subsequently do, since once [pages 65 and 66 contain illustrations] [67] determined at birth, nothing can alter man's span of life."

34: Del Re--67-71 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-5
116, 539, 772 Yami

"The 5th plane is inhabited by the Yami. The two islands shown in the drawing (fig. 1) probably represent Formosa and the near-by island of Ka-sho-to. It will be noticed that the artist has been at pains to distinguish the Yami from the anitos (planes 2 & 4) with their wild looks, dishevelled hair and pot-bellies, from the humans (planes 7 & 8) and, conversely, their marked resemblance to the gods of the second plane.

'Yami-anitos' occupy the 6th plane (fig. I). These seem to be the doubles rather than the spirits of the Yami. According to some, each individual may have as many as eight anitos who, after the death of the host body, continue to live in the same place, as disembodied spirits. Such a belief presents an interesting analogy with the ancient Egyptian ideas concerning the ka. There are certain places reputed to be haunted by these anitos which the savages fear to visit at night or even during the daytime. They are furthermore regarded as harbingers of death. Like the anitos on the 3rd plane, they too may enter into the bodies of rats which makes them evil and, in this form, are undistinguishable from those just mentioned and from the 'anito-men' who live on the 8th plane. They may also enter into butterflies, mantises and cocoons. Rats, too, are believed to have several anitos, one of which acts as the animal's vital spirit. Whether in the form of Yami, men, animals or gods, it is clear that anitos [68] have a double function and can exist with or without bodies. It will be noticed that the 3rd, 6th and 8th planes of existence (in the 9 plane scheme) are, in effect, anito counterparts of the

corresponding divine (2nd), Yami (5th) and human (7th) planes immediately above them, the only difference being that the anitos of the 3rd plane are considered evil spirits, while those of the 2nd are gods and harmless.

The World of Men is situated on the 7th plane (fig. I). About it the Yami have little to say. This, in itself, might be adduced as a proof of their long period of isolation from the outer world. It is believed however that, in the remote past, two Yami, led by the gods, visited the land of men, situated underground (plane 7 (a)(b)), and on their return handed down the following legend told Dr. Stewart, by a young native. The story makes an interesting addition to the numerous Celtic legends of what Alfred Nutt called the 'Hollow Hill' type of Happy Otherworld, except for the important fact that the Yami underworld is inhabited by living beings not ghosts.(31).

31. cpr. also the underworld in the Puyuma legend, p. 46.

Once upon a time there was a family of Yami which had several children. For some unknown reason the father and mother treated the elder brother and sister very cruelly, feeding them only on scraps and refuse. One night the elder brother dreamed of a country under [69] the earth where there was food and gold in abundance and where he and his sister might live happily and in plenty. All next day while at work in the

his just anger using the Yami merely as the instruments of his vengeance. This plane is also inhabited by many snakes and rats.

The second native drawing of the Yami cosmos (fig. II) substantially preserves in a much simplified form, the arrangement of planes of the one described above. It is of special interest, however, because it introduces a new feature, namely the suns which, as previously noted, appear on alternate planes. Such an explanation of the phenomenon of day and night is not found elsewhere among the Formosan savages nor is it clear whether the planes without suns are those inhabited by anitos."

34: Del Re--71 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 772, 821 Yami

"The whole conception of a cosmos consisting of a number of superimposed elliptical planes the upper four of which inhabited each by a different category of god or demigod, not only seems to set the Yami apart from the other savage tribes of the Formosan mainland, but gives rise to many speculations as to whence such ideas may have derived."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
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"Reference has been made in the preceding pages to those Yami myths and tales which have analogues among other Formosan tribes, particularly the Puyuma subtribe whose relationship with the Puyuma still remains to be studied. In the field of comparative anthropological research, the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology has recently issued a useful monograph by Mr. Edward Norbeck on the Folklore of the Atayal of Formosa and the Mountain Tribes of Luzon. (32) Availing

32. Anthropological Papers, No. 5, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1950.

himself of the materials published by Ogawa, Asai and Utsurikawa, the author has grouped the Atayal folktales under motifs and compared them with those of similar type found in Luzon. A few of these have characteristics in common with those referred to in the present study, such as the transformation of children into crows. (33)

33. q.v. above p. 26, and Norbeck, loc. cit. p. 9 ff. 36.

It is interesting to note among the motifs listed by Norbeck, the absence of any developed cosmological or anthropological creation myth and, on the other hand, the

constant recurrence, among most main-island Formosan tribes, including the Atayal, of the flood motif. It is to be hoped that Mr. Norbeck and others will continue and extend their researches and systematize, collate and critically examine the available native texts collected by Japanese scholars in order to determine the interdependence of Formosan native folk-[pages 73 and 74 contain illustrations] [75]lore and its eventual transoceanic origins and parallels Such studies, apart from their intrinsic interest, would undoubtedly be of great value and shed new light upon the northern migrations of the Indonesian tribes."